

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

TRSE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 /097 W
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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8441

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

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CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 2848

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PARM, JA

SUBJECT: LDP OPPOSITION TO NPT RATIFICATION: POLITICAL DYNAMICS
AND RATIONALE

SUMMARY. DESPITE STRENUOUS CAMPAIGN GOJ IS CONDUCTING TO
PERSUADE RECALCITRANT LDP LEADERSHIP THAT NPT SHOULD
BE RATIFIED DURING CURRENT DIET SESSION, TWO ARTICULATE
OPPONENTS OF NPT RATE CHANCES OF RATIFICATION AS SLIM
BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION OF KEY DECISION-MAKERS IN SENIOR
LDP LEADERSHIP POSITIONS. TO FURTHER COMPLICATE PROCESS,
RATIFICATION IS BECOMING ENTANGLED IN FACTIONAL POLITICS
INVOLVING MIKI AND FUKUDA FACTIONS. AS FOR SUBSTANTIVE
ISSUES, THESE SOURCES TELL EMBASSY THAT THERE ARE NO MAJOR
PROBLEMS WITH SAFEGUARDS ISSUE. A SECOND ISSUE, LACK
OF PROGRESS TOWARD WOULD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, MAY CAUSE
SOME DIFFICULTY, BUT THE MOST CRUCIAL IS THE QUESTION
OF ASSURING JAPAN'S SECURITY AFTER RATIFICATION IN EVENT
THAT THE US-GOJ SECURITY TREATY IS ABROGATED. THESE
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SOURCES CONTEND THAT FONOFF HAS NOT COME UP WITH A

SATISFACTORY ANSWER. LDP SOURCES INDICATE THAT PARTY LEADERS MAY ASK GOJ TO OBTAIN US ASSURANCES ON THE LONGEVITY OF THE SECURITY TREATY AS CONDITION FOR RATIFYING NPT. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THEIR ASSESSMENT OF OPPOSITION BY THE PARTY LEADERSHIP REMAINS VALID, AS IT APPEARS TO BE AS OF NOW, PROSPECTS FOR RATIFICATION APPEAR SLIM IN THIS SESSION DESPITE THE GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT BY THE PRESS AND BUREAUCRACY. NEVERTHELESS GOJ IS MAKING A STRONG COLLEGE TRY. END SUMMARY.

1. INTRODUCTION. DURING PAST WEEK, EMBOFFS HAVE HELD LONG, SEPARATE TALKS ON THE PROBLEMS OF NPT RATIFICATION WITH LDP DIETMAN NAOKICHI KITAZAWA (FUKUDA FACTION), CHAIRMAN OF LDP FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEARCH COUNCIL, AND WITH HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY, NOBUAKI TAKADA. KITAZAWA IS GENERALLY REGARDED AS THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK WITHIN LDP TO RATIFICATION. AS EXPECTED, KITAZAWA AND TAKADA ARGUED VIGOROUSLY AGAINST RATIFICATION, AND IN THE PROCESS GAVE US AN INSIGHT INTO POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF RATIFICATION AND THEIR REASONING FOR OPPOSING THE TREATY. THEIR VIEWS, WHICH ARE SET FORTH BELOW, SEEM TO BE SHARED AS OF NOW BY THE PRIME DECISION-MAKERS WITHIN THE LDP OTHER THAN MIKI AND THOSE WHO HOLD POSTS.

2. PRESENT LINEUP - AT THE OUTSET, TAKADA NOTED THAT NPT IS NOT YET A BURNING FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUE WITHIN THE LDP COMPARABLE, FOR EXAMPLE TO THE CHINA ISSUE IN 1972, BUT IT COULD BECOME ONE IF "MISHANDLED" BY THE MIKI GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THAT THE LDP CAN BE ROUGHLY DIVIDED INTO THREE EQUAL PARTS: FOR, AGAINST AND FACTION. GIVING THEM MIXED SUPPORT ON THIS ISSUE ARE TANAKA AND OHIRA FACTIONS. TWO GROUPS OUTSIDE THE DIET -- THE BUREAUCRACY (FONOFF, STA, JAEC) AND BIG BUSINESS -- WHICH, ACCORDING TO TAKADA, HAVE NOT CONSULTED THE PARTY ON RATIFICATION FOR ALMOST FIVE YEARS, HAVE SUDDENLY BEGUN AN ACTIVE LOBBYING CAMPAIGN FOR RATIFICATION. THOSE STRONGLY OPPOSED BELONG TO THE FUKUDA FACTION AND SEIRANKAI. FUKUDA, WHO HAS NOT SPOKEN OUT ON THIS ISSUE, CANNOT SIDE WITH MIKI FOR FEAR OF ALIENATING HIS FACTION, TAKADA SAID. MOST IMPORTANT, ACCORDING TO TAKADA, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PARTY LEADERSHIP -- VICE PRESIDENT SHIINA, SECRETARY GENERAL NAKASONE, EXECUTIVE BOARD CHAIRMAN NADAO, POLICY BOARD CHAIRMAN MATSUNO, AS WELL AS KITAZAWA AND SECURITY AFFAIRS RESEARCH COUNCIL CHAIRMAN ARITA -- ARE IN VARYING DEGREES OPPOSED. THE DISUNITED NAKASONE FACTION AND THE "MIDDLE" FACTIONS PERHAPS MAKE UP THE BULK OF THE UNDECIDED.

3. FACTIONAL MANEUVERING - NPT IS BEGINNING TO DEVELOP INTO A

FOCAL POINT FOR FACTIONAL POWER MANEUVERING, TAKADA SAID. HE NOTED THAT ON FEBRUARY 27 A NEW LDP GROUP CAME INTO BEING CALLED THE "DIETMEN'S LEAGUE FOR PROMOTING NPT RATIFICATION" HEADED BY NIKAI DO (TANAKA FACTION), FORMER FONMIN KIMURA (INDEP) AND UTSUNOMIYA (MIKI). TWO DAYS LATER, LEADERS OF THE YOKA-KAI (FUKUDA FACTION) MET AND PUBLICLY DENOUNCED MIKI FOR HIS "CONTROVERSIAL" POLICIES, INCLUDING NPT RATIFICATION, REFORM OF POLITICAL FUNDING, AND REVISION OF ANTI-MONOPOLY LAW. THE TWO EVENTS ARE NOT UNCONNECTED, ACCORDING TO TAKADA. THE FUKUDA FACTION BELIEVES THAT THE NIKAI DO GROUP IS, DESPITE ITS MIXED FACTIONAL MEMBERSHIP, MADE UP MAINLY OF TANAKA AND OHIRA FACTION MEMBERS, AND SUSPECTS THAT THE LATTER WILL USE NPT TO DIVIDE THE MIKI-FUKUDA ALLIANCE. THE FUKUDA FACTION CALLED ITS MEETING THEREFORE TO VENT ITS FRUSTRATIONS UNDER MIKI TO DISCOURAGE HIM FROM FORSAKING THE FUKUDA FACTION ON NPT AND OTHER ISSUES AND TO WARN HIM NOT TO CARRY OUT HIS WIDELY KNOWN DESIRE FOR EARLY GENERAL ELECTIONS. FUKUDA FACTION FEARS THAT IN SUCH ELECTIONS, MIKI, STILL IN HIS POLITICAL HONEYMOON, WOULD BE ABLE TO STRENGTHEN HIS FACTION PARTLY AT FUKUDA'S EXPENSE, PARTICULARLY IF ELECTIONS ARE HELD AFTER A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT ON NPT AND OTHER ISSUES. FUKUDA'S CHANCES OF GAINING THE PREMIERSHIP WOULD THEN BE SERIOUSLY DAMAGED. THUS HIS FACTION IS DETERMINED TO STOP MIKI FROM HAVING HIS WAY, ACCORDING TO TAKADA. THE FACTION REGARDS ITSELF NOW AS MIKI'S INDISPENSABLE PROP, A CONDITION WHICH MAY NOT PREVAIL AFTER AN EARLY ELECTION.

4. APART FROM THESE POWER CONSIDERATIONS, THE PARTY HAS LONG BEEN DIVIDED ON SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF NPT. KITAZAWA NOTED THAT IN 1970 PM SATO FORCED A DIVIDED LDP TO ACCEPT SIGNING OF THE TREATY TO ENHANCE THE CREDIBILITY OF HIS THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES. BEING A POWERFUL LEADER, UNLIKE MIKI, SATO WAS ABLE TO DO THIS, BUT ONLY AT A PRICE, KITAZAWA SAID. OPPONENTS OF THE

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TREATY WITHIN THE PARTY EXTRACTED FROM HIM THREE CONDITIONS FOR TREATY RATIFICATION: (1) EQUAL TREATMENT IN PEACEFUL USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY; (2) PROGRESS TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT: AND (3) ASSURANCES OF JAPAN'S SECURITY.

5. EQUAL TREATMENT - KITAZAWA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS FIRST CONDITION HAS GENERALLY BEEN MET WITH JAPAN'S SUCCESSFUL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 2848

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NEGOTIATION OF THE AGREEMENT WITH IAEA FOR EURATOM-LEVEL TREATMENT ON SAFEGUARDS. ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE STILL DOUBTS ON THIS MATTER IN THE LDP IN VIEW OF MATSUNO'S STATEMENT THAT IT MAY TAKE THE PARTY SIX WEEKS TO STUDY THE AGREEMENT, TAKADA REPLIED IN NEGATIVE. IT IS A SAMPLE OF DELAYING TACTICS, HE SAID, TRIED BY THOSE EVEN MORE OPPOSED TO RATIFICATION THAN HE OR KITAZAWA. TAKADA SAID THE PARTY IS GENERALLY WILLING TO TAKE ASSURANCES OF FONOFF AND STA AT FACE VALUE ON THIS MATTER, ESPECIALLY SINCE IT IS THE MAIN REASON FOR BIG BUSINESS'S SWITCH TO IMMEDIATE RATIFICATION.

6. DISARMAMENT - KITAZAWA NOTED WITH REGRET THAT THE FONOFF HAS NOT YET MADE A CONVINCING EXPLANATION TO REMOVE DOUBTS ON THE TWO REMAINING CONDITIONS. RE DISARMAMENT, HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR BETTER PROGRESS IN HALTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, CITING QUESTER'S ARTICLE, "CAN PROLIFERATION NOW BE STOPPED" IN "FOREIGN AFFAIRS" OCTOBER 1974 AS REQUIRED READING ON THIS POINT. WHILE MAKING NO MENTION OF THE SALT TALKS, KITAZAWA EXPRESSED UNHAPPINESS OVER CONTINUING HIGH LEVELS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONRY HELD BY US AND USSR.
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HE ALSO TOOK BOTH POWERS TO TASK FOR "DOING LITTLE" TO PERSUADE FRANCE AND CHINA TO ADHERE TO NPT AND FOR TAKING NO STEPS TO

STOP INDIA'S NUCLEAR EFFORTS EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN KNOWN FOR TEN YEARS.

7. TAKADA FIRST ARGUED THAT JAPAN'S NON-RATIFICATION, I.E. RETENTION OF THE NUCLEAR OPTION, WOULD BE OF HELP TO THE US IN SALT TALKS. EMBOFF POINTED OUT THAT JSP WAS USING A SIMILAR LINE -- I.E. JAPAN SHOULD NEVER GO NUCLEAR BUT NEVERTHELESS PRESERVE A "FREE HAND" TO "PUSH" NUCLEAR NATIONS DOWN TO NON-NUCLEAR STATUS. TAKADA SAID ON SECOND THOUGHT JAPAN'S RATIFICATION OR NON-RATIFICATION WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON DISARMAMENT EFFORTS ANYWHERE BECAUSE OF ITS RENUNCIATION OF WAR POTENTIAL IN ANY FORM. WHAT IS VITAL FROM JAPAN'S STANDPOINT IS, HE SAID, NOT PARTICULAR LEVELS OF US-USSR NUCLEAR ARMAMENT, BUT THAT THE LEVELS BE IN EQUILIBRIUM.

8. JAPAN'S SECURITY - BOTH KITAZAWA AND TAKADA INDICATED THAT FOREGOING TWO CONDITIONS WERE MINOR COMPARED WITH THE QUESTION OF SECURITY. FIND A "CONVINCING" ANSWER TO THE QUESTION -- HOW CAN JAPAN ASSURE ITS OWN SECURITY AFTER NPT RATIFICATION, GIVEN THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE US-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY? -- AND OPPOSITION TO RATIFICATION WOULD EVAPORATE, TAKADA SAID. KITAZAWA ARGUED THERE IS A MAJOR CONCERN THAT THE US NUCLEAR UMBRELLA MAY BE REMOVED DURING THE NEXT 20 YEARS, LIFE-SPAN OF THE NPT. THE TREATY WILL REMAIN AS LONG AS THE LDP IS IN POWER, BUT PERHAPS NOT UNDER A REFORMIST-COALITION GOVERNMENT. TAKADA SAID ALSO THAT THERE IS NO ASSURANCE THAT THE US ITSELF WILL NOT REVOKE THE TREATY IN THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS. JAPAN'S NON-RATIFICATION MAY ITSELF SERVE AS A DETERRENT TO A NUCLEAR THREAT AND TURN OUT TO BE JAPAN'S SOLE MEANS TO ENHANCE ITS SECURITY WITHOUT THE SECURITY TREATY. KITAZAWA DISMISSED AS "USELESS" THE US, UK, AND SOVIET DECLARATIONS OF INTENT TO SEEK UN SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION TO AID ANY NON-NUCLEAR NPT SIGNATORY ATTACKED BY A NUCLEAR POWER BECAUSE ALL OF THE PRESENT NUCLEAR POWERS (EXCEPT INDIA) HAVE VETO POWER IN THAT FORUM.

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9. EMBOFF ASKED WHETHER ANY OF THE FONOFF PROPOSALS NOW BEING FLOATED IN THE PRESS TO ANSWER THE SECURITY QUESTION WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO NPT OPPONENTS -- E.G. FONOFF DECLARATION THAT IN EVENT OF SECURITY TREATY ABROGATION, GOJ IS PREPARED TO "RE STUDY ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NPT" (AFTER RATIFICATION). TAKADA REPLIED IN NEGATIVE. HE SAID THERE WOULD BE A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH, HOWEVER, IF THE GOJ WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN ASSURANCES FROM THE "HIGHEST US AUTHORITY" THAT US WOULD, FOR ITS

PART, ADHERE TO THE SECURITY TREATY FOR 20 YEARS. ACCORDING TO TAKADA, IF MIKI WERE TO PRESS VERY HARD FOR RATIFICATION, KITAZAWA AND ARITA MAY ULTIMATELY DEMAND THAT MIKI OBTAIN SUCH ASSURANCES FROM THE US AS A CONDITION FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF RATIFICATION. TAKADA CLAIMED THAT KITAZAWA AND COMPANY WILL NOT COMPROMISE VERY MUCH ON THIS ISSUE BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THAT IT INVOLVES THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF JAPAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE REMAINDER OF THIS CENTURY.

10. OUTLOOK - KITAZAWA AND TAKADA INDICATED THAT CHANCES OF LDP APPROVAL OF RATIFICATION WERE REMOTE IN THIS SESSION. LEADERS SUCH AS MIKI AND KEIDANREN CHAIRMEN ARE PERSONALLY CAMPAIGNING FOR RATIFICATION, BUT TO NO AVAIL, DESPITE PRESS REPORTING OF SOME "GIVE" AMONG KEY MEMBERS SUCH AS SHIINA. TAKADA SAID, MOREOVER, THAT THE PROPONENTS OF RATIFICATION ARE UP AGAINST A STRINGENT TIMETABLE. IF THE TREATY IS TO BE RATIFIED IN THIS SESSION, LDP CONSENSUS FOR RATIFICATION WILL HAVE TO CRYSTALLIZE BETWEEN MARCH 5 AND 18, SINCE MOST DIET MEMBERS WILL BE OUT CAMPAIGNING IN LOCAL ELECTIONS FROM MARCH 19 TO APRIL 27 AND MOMENTUM WOULD BE LOST. TAKADA THINKS THAT IS A DIFFICULT TASK, GIVEN THE FACTIONAL POWER CONSIDERATIONS AND SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES INVOLVED.

10. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THAT THE FOREGOING VIEWS, ADMITTEDLY STATED BY TWO VERY ARTICULATE OPPONENTS TO THE TREATY, REVEAL THE FORMIDABLE PROBLEMS FACING MIKI AND THE ADVOCATES OF RATIFICATION. THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANCES OF RATIFICATION IN THIS SESSION IS CONTRARY TO THE GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT BY THE PRESS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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THE BUREAUCRACY. IF TAKADA'S LIST OF PARTY LEADERS ARRAYED AGAINST RATIFICATION HAS ANY VALIDITY, AS IT APPEARS TO HAVE AT THIS MOMENT, AND THE SITUATION DOES NOT CHANGE, PROSPECTS FOR RATIFICATION APPEAR SLIM IN THIS SESSION, OR ANY SESSION HELD BEFORE GENERAL ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, RESULTS OF GOVERNMENT'S CAMPAIGN ARE NOT YET IN. GOJ MAY ULTIMATELY COME TO US TO SEEK SOME FORM OF ASSURANCE ON THE SECURITY TREATY, ALTHOUGH PROBABLY NOT IN THE SWEEPING TERMS DESCRIBED IN PARA 9. HODGSON

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